1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.163a] Sierra Tarascans

825 787 back where it enters, but no further beliefs could be discovered.

An animal said to be unique in Cherán is the *hachoque* or ečékurita. It resembles a lizard and is spotted black and white. It lives in corners, inside the walls of houses, or in the stone pillars. It does not bite or injure people, but it is believed to suckle the breasts of nursing mothers while they are sleeping, taking all the milk. The animal cannot be killed with blows or by cutting it up, for the pieces reunite. Only by burning it with coals can it be killed.

823 A very clever man once went up on San Marcos and struck the mountain. Water poured out, creating a *barranca*, and continued for several days until the plain west of town was covered several feet deep. The priest then went up the mountain and ordered the water to stop, which it did.

821 263 789 Against hurricanes and hail, a cross is made in the patio or the street, of ashes, taken from the household fireplace. Salt is not put in the fire for this purpose.

[text continues on top of p. 163b]

## THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 In the preceding sections the culture of Cherán has been treated primarily from its technological and institutional aspects. The position of individuals and their activities have been discussed, it is true, but the orientation has been toward generalized and institutionalized activities. In the following pages will be discussed the activities which are more directly individual in character. This is not to say that many of these activities are not institutionalized; certainly the wedding ceremonies, for example, are quite as institutionalized in character as the *mayordomía*. Nevertheless, the wedding is more closely related to the development of individual personal relationships. Emphasis in succeeding pages will be upon the crisis periods in the individual and upon the developmental and behavioral patterns in the intervals between crises.

It will be obvious in the following discussion that treatment of the role of the individual in the culture and the impact of the culture upon the individual is very incomplete. Particular weaknesses are apparent in the discussion of infancy

[text continues on middle of p. 163b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34


789 The crosses put on top of houses are to
821 protect them from lightning or whirlwinds.

If people swim in Las Pilas, a small pond
481 northeast of town, they will sink after swim-
823 ming out a certain distance. Horses will drown there also.

821 Eclipses are thought the work of some higher power and that nothing can be done about them. There is no fear of eclipses, though, except in connection with childbirth. Some believe eclipses result from struggles between sun, moon, and earth. The defeated element is said to devour part of the foetus, causing adhesions between various parts and the womb and making birth difficult. No beliefs could be discovered about the stars. Indeed, informants insisted that there were no names for the stars and that people did not distinguish one from the other. This is unusual if true.

Mention should be made here of beliefs in the evil eye and in *los aires*, "the airs or winds." They will be discussed in connection with disease concepts and curing.

## THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 and childhood and in the part of women. These lacks are inevitable, not only from the shortness of the study, but from the special attitudes in Cherán which closed so many avenues of approach to male investigators. Material collected by Rendón is very helpful, but it is fragmentary and insufficient. It does show, though, that women investigators could secure many data otherwise difficult to collect.

### BIRTH

842 Children are generally desired in Cherán, and motherhood is regarded as normal and expectable. There is a clear idea of the physiological causation of pregnancy, and normally no means are taken to avoid it. Men are said to prefer boys and women to prefer girls, but whatever the sex, both parents usually welcome the child and wish many, and childbirth appears to cause minimal emotional disturbances, although they are not lacking. Although no accurate data were available, informants did not believe there were more than six or eight women in Cherán who had not borne children. Some said that

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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775 tend to identify them with devils or to
778 say that the Devil is behind all that.
Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to
775 so that they will kill one's enemy. This takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the brave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

## Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

### A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

128 An outline of Tarascan folklore and main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

821 Harmful natural elements are consid-
776 ered bad and are related to the Devil. They either are caused by him or are special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The
●[823] volcano was made by the Devil, as something bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

183 The material which is of more interest to our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (a) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (b) be-

183 story, communal land is thus defended. The man who sold it against the community's interests is put out of the village and goes to live in the woods where he eats snakes and becomes insane. The rich are defended in the two stories about the dead who have to come back to earth in order to repay their masters. The landowner is clearly supported in one of them: the foreman who gave his master's corn to the peons has to come back to earth and sweat at the plow until he pays his master back. This punishment is intended not only to redeem his sin but also to enable him to tell the people "always to act as the master tells you."

Even poor peasants condemn land distribution as going against this principle, [775] and the agraristas as recipients of that land are doomed to hell; the burning place in hell is ready for them. The Devil wanders freely wherever they prevail. They are to blame for the volcano [823] (Parícutin) in a number of opinions, no matter what is the particular action that brings the whole thing about

(2) Much material deals with the 183 wrongness of anything that is against the Church and organized relation, including 794 both the folk cult and orthodox Catholicism.

Taking cargos is considered necessary to reach heaven: "Vasco de Quiroga instructed us to take cargos in order to reach salvation; it is a work in this world in order to be able to go to heaven." "Cargos are to serve God." In Jarácuaro the cargueros wear a crown during processions and it is said that those who take no cargos have no crown, thereby diminishing their standing before God. In Tzintzuntan it is said that the carguero who does not participate in the Saturday processions has to do so after death.

The financial burden of cargos, discussed before, is reflected in the folk theme of the prospective carguero who sells his soul (or his daughter's) to the Devil in order to get money with which to finance the festival at his charge. In two of three cases [776] with this theme, the saints intervene to rescue the pledged soul.

[793] The priest is considered the representative of God and it is felt that he has to be obeyed.

Failure to fulfill obligations toward God 688 brings punishment. Adam and Eve are 183 condemned to work. The man who refuses to give food to Saint Anthony disguised

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539 they were going to kill him, but if he did not, they would let him free. He said they had better kill him. So they were going to kill him. They told him: 'Tomorrow we are going to kill you; make up your mind.' And he said he had already made up his mind. It was night. An angel came and opened the doors. The man was asleep and the angel told him: 'Come, then. Get out.' So the man went out after him and he walked through where the soldiers were and not even one woke up. Next day the light broke out and the soldiers went to kill him and nobody was there and everything was locked up tight. Our Lord Saint Peter had left him on the outskirts of Rome. He went into the city and when the call for mass struck there he was. He heard the mass and he told the Pope everything that had happened, and the Pope said, 'Right now in your town they want to kill the soldiers because they did not pay attention. I am going to send word that you are here, not to kill them.' So, they did not kill them."

[668] [823] The anti-agrarista theme appears important in the tales about the Parícutin volcano.[3]

"At that time there were many agraristas. One man from Corupo spoke to a man from Parícutin, to another from San Juan, to still another from Zacán, and to a fourth from Zirosto. They got together and said, 'Let us go and steal the Holy Sacrament.' They went to San Juan and took it out from the church. And in the whole town only one man noticed that the Holy Sacrament was no longer there, but he was afraid of saying so lest the people blame him. He noticed on three days during mass that the Holy Sacrament was not there and at last he told some friends whom he trusted. The agraristas took the Holy Sacrament to Zacán and they wondered what to do with it. They spent some days in Zacán; then they went to Zirosto, and finally they took it to Parícutin in order to hide it. The owner of a land plot there was an agrarista, and he said, 'Well, as you don't know what to do with it, let us take it to my plot.' And they hid it there.

"And the Eternal God said, 'What shall I do with those people? They are the most wicked in the world. I don't know what to do with them.'

"Then the Devil appeared and said, 'There is a way.' 'How?' 'Sure, there is a way so that they shall suffer, but they will not be the only ones to suffer.' Then God said, 'Go then, but let me think it over for a month.' The Devil asked for too much, but at last they drew the line within

3. Tarascan stories about the volcano have been discussed by the author in a previous paper (Carrasco, 1946).

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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## THE LEGEND OF LAKE CUITZEO

### Historical Comment

539 On the main highway leading northwest from Mexico City to
131 Guadalajara, an arterial road leads off to the north at Morelia and
103 passes by Lake Cuitzeo and the pueblo of the same name (Fig. 1).
133 Like all Mexican lakes, Cuitzeo is annually shrinking in size.
823 Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the tiny pueblo will gladly tell you the story of their once-proud lake which formerly resembled a heart.

539 This story belongs to a period of instability and planned war-
175 fare between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. Spies
648 were sent into the lands of the snake-Chichimecs, located east of
721 Lake Pátzcuaro at Curínguaro, to learn the paths, river crossings, and other data essential to a successful compaign.

726 Warriors went to battle with wreaths of flowers and plumes of eagle feathers on their heads. The lord in command would set out with a war party made up of columns of warriors. This traditional method of journeying to battle appears in the Cuitzeo legend.

### The Legend

539 Under the protective rays of the Southern Cross, those divine
823 guiding stars, Cueróhperi created a garden. The goddess created crystalline rivers in the countryside of Guayangareo and placed the faithful Mount Manuma as the guardian over the region.

In this garden the princess Hapunda lived as a recluse by order of her father. Each morning Father Huriata's first rays of light gently awakened her with a kiss on the forehead. She was so lovely that her subjects called her "Tzinziquin." Always sad and melancholy, her tears flowed as profusely as the waters of the springs forming the rushing river which fell over the nearby cliffs and crashed against the rocks blocking the pathway into the lower valley. The relentless waters penetrated the rock, but the tears of Hapunda did not move the hearts of the gods, and she vainly

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823

pined for the speedy return of her beloved warrior who had accompanied the king on his path of conquest.

Finally, one morning as Father Huriata's splendrous rays appeared over the mountain, hundreds of warriors filed across the vast plains of Cuaracurío. The commotion of the warriors drove to flight a beautiful hummingbird, which disappeared in the distance with the swiftness of an arrow. The princess, who had often fed the bird from her hand, watched disconsolately as it became lost from view.

Quickly she ran to greet the troops, anxiously questioning them concerning her beloved warrior. In the faces of the Tarascan fighters she beheld sadness and compassion. Trembling with fear, she fell on her knees in the path of the king.

"My father," she said, "return to me my beloved warrior who entered your service and left on this campaign. With your permission, my eyes will behold him as the vanquisher of our enemies."

The king made a gesture with his hand. The warriors fell into silence in order that all could hear the voice of their leader.

"My daughter Hapunda, beautiful 'Tzinziquin,' an arrow of the barbarous Chichimecs struck him while he stood in the midst of my warriors. Our god, Father Huriata, wanted his blood and I have deposited his heart in a box at the god's feet in the temple."

A low, audible moan came from the princess. With her eyes rolling wildly, she ran to the temple where the impressive golden disk of the god gleamed from its setting in precious wood. The grave, dignified priests were unable to restrain the impetuous Hapunda as she seized the box containing the heart of her lover and fled into the depths of the valley below. There, among the tall flowers, she concealed herself while directing her demented eyes first in one direction and then another, seeking a place to hide the box and its remains. Her insensible ears could not hear the voice of her father who futilely called and called and called.

The sun set beneath the hills and the moon passed beneath a cloud. All was dark and Hapunda remained silent. Finally, from her grief-stricken eyes emerged rivers of tears which inundated the valley.

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539 823 At daybreak the astonished king and warriors beheld, instead of a flourishing valley, a lake whose waters formed the shape of a heart.

These things occurred many years ago, but each morning Father Huriata continues to kiss with his first rays of light the crystal-clear waters created by Princess Hapunda, the beautiful "Tzinziquin."

## QUIRITZÍCUARO (THE GREAT FOUNTAIN)

### Historical Comment

312 [539] [361] The legend of Quiritzícuaro refers to one of the most significant factors in the life of the Tarascans—a needed spring to furnish a constant supply of fresh water. Almost every town in Michoacán is located beside a lake or is near a spring. While the territory to the north and to the south of La Sierra abounds in springs, their scarcity in La Sierra itself has always been a problem. In pre-Conquest times, many towns supplemented the flow from the local spring by constructing aqueducts of hollowed half-logs to bring in water from springs some distance away. This method is still used in many of the pueblos of La Sierra.

312 584 [178] The discovery of a new spring has been charmingly linked with a tradition existing for centuries in the highland pueblos of La Sierra, where the young people carry on their limited courtship while walking to and from the water fountain. The maiden loiters and gazes across the fields, never facing her suitor directly, and listens as he talks to her. His presence on the road to the fountain, although understood by the townspeople and usually prearranged with the girl, must give the appearance of being quite accidental.

361 49 [539] ooo The pueblo of Paracho, referred to in the legend, is one of three significant Tarascan villages on the road that leaves the main highway at Carapan and winds southward for forty-five miles through pine and oak woods and small cultivated valleys to Uruapan (Fig. 1). Paracho is still primitively picturesque. The town's